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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD--INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE EIGHT.

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THIS REPORT DESCRIBES SOME OF THE LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE FAMILIES OF THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA REGIONS OF THE INDO-PACIFIC AREA. THE LANGUAGE FAMILIES DISCUSSED WERE JAKUM, SAKAI, SEMANG, PALAUNG-WA (SALWEEN), MUNDA, AND DRAVIDIAN. OTHER LANGUAGES DISCUSSED WERE ANDAMANESE, NICOBARESE, KHASI, NAHALI, AND BURUSHASKI. (THE REPORT IS PART OF A SERIES, ED 010 350 TO ED 010 367.) (JK)

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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:

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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD
INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE EIGHT

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9.0. Consultants

9. Other non-Austronesian, non-Sino-Tibetan and non-Indo-European language families in Southeast Asia and in South Asia

10. Jakun family

11. Sakai family

12. Semang family

13. Andamanese and Niccbarese

14. Palaung-Wa (Salween) family

15. Khasi

16. Munda family

17. Dravidian family

18. Nahali and Burushaski

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

9.0. This fascicle has gained immeasurably from critical reading by two consultants at the University of California, Murray B. Emeneau (Berkeley) and William Bright (Los Angeles).

9. Languages in two language families, Mon-Khmer (7) and Vietnamese (8), were treated in Indo-Pacific Fascicle Seven as not necessarily related to the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) language family or to language families classified as Sino-Tibetan, through the Vietnamese and Mon-Khmer languages are interspersed among these other language families, and have been influenced in various ways by contact with them. There remain about a dozen other language families in the South Asia and Southeast Asia part of the Indo-Pacific area that may be similarly classified in a negative way. These families have been shown to be related neither to each other nor to Austronesian, nor to Sino-Tibetan nor to Indo-European languages spoken in the same general area, though relationships of a phylum or macro-phylum remoteness have been suggested for some of them.

For example, it has been suggested by Pinnow (1959)—'after Schmidt' —— adapted from Schmidt (1906, 1914)—that three language families discussed below (10, 11, 12) should be classified together in what might be called a South Phylum (Malakka); and that one other language family (14) should be classified together with Khasi (15) and with Nicobarese (13—but not with Andamanese) in what might be called the Central Phylum; and that the Munda family (16) should be classified with Nahali (18)—but not with Dravidian (17) nor with Burushaski (18)—in what might be called a Western

Phylum; and finally that these phyla, as specified, may be combined with Mon-Khmer (but not with Vietnamese) into what may be called a grandiloquent Macro-Phylum (Austro-Asiatic). The main criticism of this proposal is that it is premature. At least one of the constituent language families in this scheme of phylum linguistics—the Palaung-Wa (Salween) family—is apparently a waste basket into which to file languages which may possibly be alternatively (but more dubiously) Sino-Tibetan or even Mon-Khmer. Conjectures seem simply uninteresting when they concern the more remote external relationships of a family whose internal relationships are neither obvious nor demonstrated. Still, this criticism is not made of a straw man, easy to knock down. Though it may turn out that future investigation fails to show substantial evidence of a common ancestor implicit in the phylum linguistic proposal, the proposal may nevertheless lead to the discovery of typological similarities among the language families combined in various phyla. Indeed, interesting typological samenesses and differences would be expected not only within the restrictions of phylum linguistics, but among all the languages listed below (10-18) .

The view expressed here on the application of phylum linguistics to Austro-Asiatic—from Schmidt to Pinnow—does not represent a consensus; and yet, divergent views on phylum linguistics are not in clear-cut controversy or opposition to each other. The difficulty stems from the fact that though it is sometimes possible to prove that a given pair of languages may be genetically related, there exists no method of disproving this in linguistics.

In lieu of a consensus, we list three kinds of reaction to phylum linguistics commonly encountered.

(a) Effort expended on phylum linguistics is misplaced and might be more profitably expended on comparative method linguistics with its well attested reconstructive techniques. There is never controversy over this reaction: those who are rewarded by working in sharp focus on the abundant evidence of a given language family, as Munda, do so; those who find a larger linguistic landscape more intriguing, work in phylum linguistics—e.g. compare languages in the Munda family with languages in other families.

(b) The latter seem always to find some support for connecting languages in different language families—in the case of Pinnow, phonological correspondences and cognate sets. Acceptions of evidence for a phylum is characteristically expressed in journal reviews: the reviewer expresses himself as convinced that the support adduced is sufficient to show the genetic connection postulated between different language families. Substantial scholars in leading linguistic journals have expressed themselves so convinced by Pinnow's work in Austro-Asiatic, just as other scholars have been convinced by Poppe's work in the Altaic phylum. Here again controversy is almost impossible. The scholars who are convinced, say so in reviews; those who are not, cannot call upon negative evidence to show that languages in two language families are not related, since the data present only positive evidence. The fact that the data are sparse is not relevant, since sparseness of data is the divisive feature which distinguishes phylum linguistics from

comparative method linguistics. Where there exists a plethora of cognates, for example, there would be a language family to work in, and the questions asked in phylum linguistics would not arise.

(c) A less common reaction to phylum linguistics is to be neither convinced nor skeptical, but hopeful (that is, to regard the proposals made as programmatic, as maps pointing in one or another direction for further investigation). This is the view taken in this report in respect to various phyla and macro-phyla proposed. It is possible then to regard some phyla as more or less interesting than other phyla, rather than as more or less convincing. One is convinced by a plethora of evidence, and such abundance is obtainable, by definition, only within a given language family; one is interested in the direction of more distant connections between language families that are offered in the sparser attestation of phylum linguistics, or in proposals for which the evidence is not yet cited (as in many of Sapir's proposals for American Indian phyla). When different workers connect language families in more than one way, the phylum linguistic proposals are less interesting (and less useful programmatically) than when the phylic map gives a single definite connection. Even for much less interesting phyla, as the Austro-Asiatic, the evidence adduced may lead to discoveries in areal linguistics, whether or not, or however the language families in the area are genetically related.

JAKUN FAMILY

10. The three Jakun languages are spoken in southern mainland Malaysia,

south and partly west of the Sakai languages. The total number of speakers is estimated to be 10,000.

(1) Kenaboi: two dialects in Negri Sembilan

(2) Beduanda (northernmost)

(3) Jakun proper (Jaku'd, Jakud'n, Jakoon, Djakun).

SAKAI FAMILY

11. A half dozen Sakai languages are spoken south of the Semang languages in Malaysia. South of Kuala Lumpur they are spoken right up to the coast; elsewhere they are confined to inland areas. The total number of speakers is again estimated to be 10,000.

(1) Northern Sakai is differentiated into the following dialects:

Kenderong

Grik

Kenering

Sungai Piah

Po-Klo (Sakai Bukit) of Temongoh

Sakai of Plus Korbu

Ulu Kinta (Kinta Sakai)

Tanjong Rambutan

Tembe? (Tembi).

(2) The Central Sakai dialects are:

Blanya (Lengkuas)

Sungai Raya

Ulu Kampar

Mt. Berumban

Jelai

Serau

Sənoi (of Ulu Pahang)

Chendariang

Tapah

Ulu Gedang

Sungkai

Slim

Orang Tanjong (of Ulu Langat).

(3) Southwestern Sakai dialects are:

Selangor Sakai

Orang Bukit of Ulu Langat

Besisi (Bersisi) of Kuala Langat

Besisi of Negre Sembilan

Besisi of Malakka.

(4) Southeastern Sakai dialects are:

Bera

Serting

Ulu Palong

Ulu Indau.

(5) Eastern Sakai One (inner) dialects are:

Pulau Guai

Krau

Kuala Tembeling

Krau men of Ketiar (Tengganu)

Kerdau.

(6) Eastern Sakai Two (outer) dialects are:

Ulu Tembeling

Ulu Ceres (Cheres).

SEMANG FAMILY

12. Three Semang languages are spoken in the inland area of northern mainland Malaysia by some 2,000 speakers. A few Semang speakers live across the border in Thailand.

(1) Dialects classified as Semang proper are:

Kedah (Quedah)

Ulu Selama

Ijoh (Ijok)

Jarum

Plus

Jehehr (Sakai Tanjong of Temongoh).

(2) Pangan dialects are:

Jalor

Sai

Ulu

Pətani

Teliang

Belimbing

Sam

Ulu Kəlantan

Lebir

Galas

Kuala Aring

Ulu Aring

Kerbat

Hill-Semang.

(3) Lowland Semang dialects are:

Juru

Begbie's Semang

Orang Bənua (Newbold's Semang)

Swamp Semang (of Ulu Krian).

The following phonemic inventory, taken from Pinnow, may be a maximum inventory including all of the Sakai and Semang languages.

p	t	t^y	k	ʔ
b	d	d^y	g	
	s	š	x	h
m	n	n^y	ŋ	ŋ̥
	l			
	r		R	
w		y		

i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
a		ɑ

plus length

/r m n ŋ/ occur as syllabics as well as non-syllabics in Central Sakai, but the two are possibly in complementary distribution. Aspirated consonants are treated as clusters, as are preglottalized consonants. /R/ is uvular.

ANDAMANESE AND NICOBARESE

13. Far west of Malaysia, and south of Burma, there lies a chain of islands between the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal.

Andamanese is spoken in this island chain, and until recently no one has supposed that this language is related to Nicobarese nor to any other language or family or phylum. The speakers are pygmies who are sometimes cited in the anthropological literature as the only pygmies in the world who speak their own language. This means that the Andamanese have not borrowed the languages of neighbors—do not speak a language of the same family that their taller neighbors speak—which is the case of pygmies in other parts of the world (e.g. South Africa and the Philippines).

There are perhaps at least three Andamanese languages—(1) Northern or Great Andamanese, (2) Jarawa, also spoken on the Great Andaman

Islands—on the South Andaman and Rutland—and (3) Önge, spoken on Little Andaman. The language spoken by the hostile tribe living on the tiny North Sentinel Island, west of South Andaman, about whom nothing is known, may be a fourth Andaman language or may only be Järawa.

Brief word lists are all that has ever been collected of Järawa and Önge, the Järawa being still so hostile that it has been impossible for the Indian government to even count them (the Önge are estimated to number 200). A comparison of the available word lists of Järawa and Önge shows near identity between the two, but, on the basis of confrontation of speakers of the two, they are said to be mutually unintelligible. A comparison of the Järawa and Önge words with the more extensive data on Northern Andamanese shows a clear, but less close, similarity.

Early studies of Northern Andaman discussed ten dialects—five northern (Yerewa, Jeru): Cari, Kora, Ba, Jeru, and Kede, and five southern (Bojigniji, Bea): Juwoi, Kol, Puchikwar (Bojigyab), Balawa (Akar-Bale), and Bea (Aka-Bea-da). Dwijendra Nath Basu (A General Note on the Andamanese Languages, Indian Linguistics 16, Chatterji Jubilee Volume, pp. 214-25, 1955) reports that in 1951 there were only 25 surviving speakers of Northern Andamanese—only one of whom spoke a southern dialect natively—and that the dialects had leveled.

The inventory of sounds of Northern Andamanese as reported by Radcliffe-Brown (Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands, Anthropos 9. 36-52, 1914), and confirmed by Basu, is:

p	t	č	k	i	u
b	d	ǯ	g	e	o
m	n	n^y	ŋ	ɛ	ɔ
	l, r			ae	a
w		y			

The inventories of Önge and Järawa are apparently similar, except that front (or central) unrounded vowels are said to occur 'especially' in Önge, which has k^w as an additional stop. Basu reports the occurrence of a fricative, š, in North Andamanese, 'which might have, in reality, been derived from the palatal affricate'; he confirms the positive lack of fricatives in Önge.

Murdock (Ethnology 3. 123, 1964) speaks of "--a linguistic phylum postulated by Greenberg to include the Australians and Tasmanians, the Andamanese, the Papuans of New Guinea, and the non-Austronesian-speaking peoples in the Solomon Islands and in Halmahera and Timor in the Moluccas [sic]."

Six Nicobarese dialects are spoken by a total of 10,000 people on the Nicobar Islands (south of the Andaman Islands):

Car Nicobar (Pu)

Chowra (Tətet)

Teressa-(Təih-long)—Bompaka (Pɑəhət)

Central dialect (including Kamorta, Nancowry, Trinkat or Laful, and Kachel or Tehnu)

Southern dialect (including Great Nicobar, Little Nicobar, Condul and Milo)

Inland dialect (Shom Peng) of Great Nicobar.

The following inventory of the phonemes of Nancowry Nicobarese (Central Dialect) is taken from Pinnow:

p	t	t^y	k			i	ü	u		iː		üː
b	d	d^y	g			e	ö	o		eː	əː	oː
f		š		h		ɛ	ə	ɔ		ɛː		ɔː
m	n	n^y	ŋ				a					
	l					plus nasalization (all vowels)						
	r											
w		y										

In addition to the above phonemes there may be some glottalized or implosive stops. /ü ö/ are front rounded vowels.

PALAUNG-WA (SALWEEN) FAMILY

14. The Salween languages are scattered over a wide area in eastern Burma (east of Mandalay), northwestern Thailand, and northern Laos; also to a lesser extent in China and North Vietnam. There are about a dozen Palaung-Wa languages, half of them in a western, half in an eastern group.

The western group of Palaung-Wa languages is spoken primarily in Burma and Thailand. The total number of speakers in Burma is 176,000 (1931).

(1) Riang (Yang Sek, Yang Wan Kun)

(2) Palaung (Rumai) is spoken in Burma by 139,000 people (Pinnow).

Palaung dialects include:

Nam Hsan

Shan States

Manton

Darang.

(3) Angku is differentiated into the following dialects:

Angku

Amok (Hsen-Hsum)

Monglwe (Loi, Tailoi of Mong_Lwe).

(4) The Wa language is represented by five dialects:

Vu (Wa-Vu)

En

Tailoi (Wa-Kut)

Wa (Kentung)

Son.

(5) Danaw

(6) Lawa is spoken in Thailand by some 4,000 speakers. Lawa dialects include:

Umpai

Bo Luang

Mape (Me-Ping)

Pa Pao (Chaobon).

The eastern group of Palaung-Wa languages is spoken mainly in Laos, in numerous enclaves scattered in all directions around Luang Prabang.

(1) Khmu (Tsa Khmu, Khamuk) is spoken on both sides of the Laos-Thailand border as well as north and south of Luang Prabang in Laos.

Smalley estimates the number of speakers to be a hundred thousand.

(2) Lamet (Lemet, Kha Lamet): 6,000 speakers

(3) Kha Kwang-Lim

(4) Kha Kon-tu'

(5) Kha Doi-luang (Kha Doy): 60 speakers

(6) Pheng (Theng, P'eng, Phong)

(7) Tong-luang (Kha Tong Luong, Phi Taung Luang, Ka Tawng Luang, Sach, Tac-cui), spoken in Thailand.

Other names associated with this group include Kven (Khuen): 3,000 speakers, Con: 70 speakers, possibly also Nanhang and Mi.

Of the following phonemic inventories, those for Palaung and Lawa are taken from Pinnow.

PALAUNG

p	t	t^y	k	ʔ	i	ü	u
b	d	d^y	g		e	ö	o
f	s	š		h	ɛ	ə	ɔ
v	z					a	
m	n	n^y	ŋ		plus length		
	l						
	r						
w		y					

Both pre- and post-aspirated consonants are treated as clusters. /ü ö/ are front rounded vowels.

LAWA

p	t	t^y	č	k		i ɨ	u
b	d					e ə	o
f	s			h		ɛ a	ɔ
m	n	n^y	ŋ			plus length	
	l		ḷ				
	r						
w		y					

Aspirated stops /ph th kh/ are treated as clusters. /ɨ ə/ are back unrounded vowels. /ḷ/ is dark.

The following inventory of Khmu phonemes is taken from Wm. A. Smalley's Outline of Khmu? Structure, American Oriental Series, Essay 2, New Haven, 1961.

p	t	č	k	?		i ɨ	u
b	d	ǰ	g			e ə	o
	s			h		ɛ a	ɔ
m	n	n^y	ŋ				
	l						
	r						
w		y					

Long vowels are treated as geminate clusters.

KHASI

15. Khasi (Khasia, Khassee, Cossyah, Kyi) is spoken in the south-central section of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of central Assam, India. The total number of speakers is 193,000. The four Khasi dialects are:

Khasi proper (Standard Khasi), including Cherrapunji

Lyngngam (Lngngam) in the southwest

Synteng (Pnar) north of Jowai

War in the south bordering on the Sylhet plains.

The Linguistic Survey of India adds the dialect or dialects of Sylhet and Cachar.

The following inventory of Khasi phonemes follows Lili Rabel, Khasi, A Language of Assam, Louisiana State University Studies, Humanities Series, Number Ten (1961).

p	t		k	ʔ	i u
pʰ	tʰ		kʰ		e o
b	d	j			a
(f)	s	š		h	plus length
m	n	nʸ	ŋ		
	l				
	r				
w		y			

MUNDA FAMILY

16. The Munda languages constitute the third largest language family in India—after the Indo-European and after Dravidian. The total number of

languages is sixteen, spoken by over five million people, over half of whom are speakers of the Santali language.

The Munda languages are spoken in three separate areas in India. The Eastern group (Santali, Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, Birhor, Koda, Turi, Asuri, Korwa, and the linguistically more diverse languages Kharia and Juang) is located in the Chota Nagpur Plateaus of Bihar State (mainly Santal Parganas, Ranchi, and Singbhum Districts); also in Orissa to the south and Bengal to the east. The Singbhum District of Bihar State is the only area in India where a Munda language, namely Ho, is numerically predominant over Indic or Dravidian languages.

The Southern group of Munda languages (Sora, Pareng, Gutob, and Remo) is spoken in the Andhra Pradesh-Orissa border area, inland from the city of Visakhapatnam on the coast, between the Mahanadi River in the north and the Godavari River in the south.

Kurku (Western Munda) is considerably removed from the other members of the Munda family geographically, being spoken in the Mahadeo Hills of Madhya Pradesh.

Pinnow (1959) has divided the Munda languages into four groups which coincide roughly with geographical distribution:

Eastern Munda

Central Munda

Southern Munda

Western Munda.

All population figures in the list of Munda languages, below, are taken from the 1951 Census of India unless otherwise indicated.

There are nine Eastern Munda (Kherwari) languages.

(1) Santali is spoken by 2,823,000 people in a strip of territory about 300 miles long, from the Ganges in the north to the Baitarani in the south. This area includes the districts Santal Parganas (about a million speakers), Purulia, Hazaribagh, Singbhum, Purnea, Dhanbad and others in Bihar; districts Mayurbhanj and others in Orissa; districts Midnapur, Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum, West Dinajpur and others in West Bengal; the Assam Plains in Assam; and other scattered settlements.

Three Santali dialects are:

Santali proper: 2,812,000 speakers

Karmali (Kohle): 7,000 speakers

Mahle: 4,000 speakers.

(2) Mundari (Horo-jagar) is spoken by nearly 600,000 people located mainly in the southern and western portions of the Ranchi District of Bihar (411,000 speakers). Mundari is spoken to a lesser extent in other districts of Bihar, and also in areas of Orissa, West Bengal; and also beyong Bengal.

Mundari dialects include:

Mundari proper (?)

Hasada?

Naguri

Kera?.

(3) Ho (Larka Kol) is spoken by 600,000 people located mainly in Singbhum District of Bihar (414,000 speakers) and Mayurbhanj District of Orissa.

(4) Bhumij is spoken by as few as 102,000 people (or by as many as 360,000, according to Pinnow), primarily in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa.

(5) Bihor (Birhar) is spoken by 1,500 people (Pinnow) in the Hazaribagh, Singbhum, Manbhum and Ranchi Districts of Bihar.

(6) Koda (Kora) is spoken by as few as 7,000 people (or by as many as 25,000, according to Pinnow) located mainly in the Sambalpur District of Orissa. The dialects of Koda are:

Koda proper (?)

Birbhum

Bankura

Dhangor (in East Madhya Pradesh).

(7) Turi is spoken by at least 2,000 people (by twice as many, Pinnow) in East Madhya Predesh (mostly in Raigarh), Orissa (Sambalpur and Oriya), and a few other areas.

(8) Asuri is spoken by 5,000 people (Pinnow) in the same general area as Turi (above). Asuri dialects include:

Asuri

Brijia (Koranti)

Mānjhi.

(9) Korwa is spoken by at least 26,000 people (but by 34,000, Pinnow) in the Palamau District of Bihar, the Surguja District of East Madhya Predesh,

and other areas. There are two Korwa dialects:

Korwa

Ernga (Singli).

There are two Central Munda languages, numbered (10) and (11):

(10) Kharia is spoken by 111,000 people (increased to 160,000 by Pinnow) in the Ranchi District of Bihar, the Raigarh District of Madhya Pradesh, the Sundargarh District of Orissa, and to a small extent in West Bengal, Assam, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

(11) Juang (Patua, Patra-Saara) is spoken by 13,000 people (16,000 in Pinnow) located mainly in the Keonjhar District of Orissa.

There are four Southern Munda languages:

(12) Sora (Savara, Saora) is spoken by some 200,000 people (360,000 in Pinnow), mainly in the Ganjam District of Orissa; also in the Koraput and Phulbani Districts of Orissa, the Plains Division of Assam, and other areas.

(13) Pareng (Parenji, Poroja) is spoken by less than 100 speakers in the Koraput District of Orissa. Pinnow reports 10,000 speakers.

(14) Gutob (including the Gadba and Gudwa, the latter also known as Bodo, Bodo-Gadaba, or Sodia) is spoken by 54,000 people (32,500, Pinnow) in the Koraput District of Orissa, and in the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam Districts of Andhra Pradesh.

(15) Remo (Bonda, Bonda Poroja, Nanga Poroja) is spoken by 2,500 people (Pinnow). Remo together with Pareng (13) and Gutob (14) may constitute a single language.

Western Munda refers to one language, Kurku.

(16) Kurku (Korku) is spoken by 189,000 people (171,000 in Pinnow), mainly in northwestern Madhya Pradesh, in the Satpura and Mahadeo Hills; also in the Surguja and Amravati Districts. There are two Kurku dialects:

Kurku: 171,000 speakers

Muwasi (Kuri): 18,000 speakers.

Over one and a quarter million Munda speakers are bilingual. The main second languages are Bihari, Bengali and Oriya, all three Indic. Kurukh and Telugu, both Dravidian languages, are also spoken by some Mundas. Apparently, few Munda speakers know more than one Munda language.

The consequence of the bilingual situation, according to Gumperz, appears to be unilateral: "All Munda languages have been greatly influenced by the surrounding Indo-Aryan and Dravidian tongues. Present vocabularies show a high percentage of loan words. The influence has also extended to phonology and morphology. The reflex ṭ and ḍ in Kherwari, for example, seem to be borrowings since they do not occur in either Sora or Korku."

The following information on the phonemes of various Munda languages is based on J. J. Gumperz's article entitled Munda Languages in the Encyclopedia Britannica, 1964 edition (Santali, Mundari, Kurku, Sora), Pinnow (Kharia, Juang), and N. H. Zide, Final Stops in Korku and Santali, Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee Volume I, 44-48 (1958).

The system of oral stops for all the Munda languages except Kurku and Sora and at least one dialect of Santali is identical. This system utilizes five

linear distinctions and the series generating components of voicing and aspiration (occurring both individually and together) which gives a total of twenty stops:

p	t	ṭ	c̆	k
p'	t'	ṭ'	c̆'	k'
b	d	ḍ	j̆	g
b'	d'	ḍ'	j̆'	g'

Kurku and Sora differ from this scheme in that they lack the retroflex series. Zide and Gumperz—contrary to Pinnow—consider retroflex consonants to be borrowings rather than reflexes from Proto-Munda. Zide notes that at least one dialect of Santali has a phonemic series of five glottalized or implosive stops / 'p 't 'ṭ 'c̆ 'k/ in addition to the above set of twenty. Glottalized stops also occur in Kharia and Mundari. Ramamurti transcribes glottalized stops in Sora, but Pinnow interprets them as allophones of other stops in Sora. A phonemic glottal stop / ʔ/ occurs in Kurku, Sora, Kharia and Juang. In Santali and Mundari the glottal stop is an allophone of /k/.

All the Munda languages have the fricatives /s/ and /h/ to which Santali adds /v/.

Santali and Mundari have three nasals /m n ŋ/ to which the other languages add /n^y/.

The liquids /l/ and /r/ occur in all Munda languages. Retroflex /ɾ/ also occurs in those languages which have retroflex stops.

Kurku and Juang have the semivowels /w/ and /y/; Santali has only /y/;

Sora only /w/. Mundari and Kharia have no semivowels.

The simplest Munda vowel systems are of the type 2(FB) over N found in Mundari, Kurku (with two tones), Kharia and Juang. Sora and one dialect of Santali have a fully symmetrical nine vowel system of the type 3(FCB). The Orissa dialect of Santali has a six vowel system of the type 3(FB).

DRAVIDIAN

17. Sir Sidney Low, writing in the decades between the two world wars, finds it necessary to point out that Burma is non-Indian: "Burma is by geography, religion, ethnology, and history, altogether distinct from India. Its political association with the Peninsula is very recent (Upper Burma and the Siam states were only annexed in 1885), and is not likely to be maintained indefinitely." (The Indian States and Ruling Princes, London, 1929, asterisk fn., p. 9). As predicted, 'Its political association with the Peninsula' has been severed, and the Peninsula can now be taken as another political unit (India), itself severed from the two Pakistans, which lie to the northwest and the northeast of the Peninsula, while India extends inland, beyond Delhi, north of the Peninsula between the two Pakistans. Roughly speaking, the Peninsula can, since 1947, be equated to the India part of South Asia. The later of the two national epics (Ramayana) is clearly concerned with Indo-European people after contact with Dravidian people in and south of the Peninsula; if the Ramayana does preserve historical fact (couched in a folkloristic frame of monkey and bear allies), the fact refers to a tradition of an Indian

king (Rama) who seeks to recover his wife abducted by a king of Ceylon (Ravana) who may have spoken a Dravidian language—a language not belonging to the Indo-European language family. An Indo-European model (Sanskrit, of course) is apparent in the oldest Dravidian literature (Tamil), as well as in the Malayalam literature (and Tamil and Malayalam, generally regarded as separate languages, are stated to be two mutually intelligible dialects of one language, in the 1963 Encyclopedia Brittanica article, 665-6, by Murray B. Emeneau), as well as in the Kannada (Kanarese) and Telugu literatures. Each of the literary languages has an alphabet of its own; hence there is a Tamil alphabet which is different from the Malayalam alphabet, but the Telugu and Kannada alphabets are quite similar. None of these Dravidian alphabets are really derived from those used for writing Indo-European languages in north India (Devanagari). The latter stand in relation to South Indian alphabets as sister rather than as parent. All of the modern Indian alphabets developed from Brahmi, which was the vehicle of the Aśokan inscriptions in the 3rd century B. C.

The Dravidian languages are equally as important, in modern India, as the Indo-European languages. The position of Dravidian is the inverse of the position of Burma, vis-à-vis India. Dravidian peoples and languages are by geography, religion, ethnology, and history completely integrated with the Indo-European peoples and languages of India. Not counting the unknown language of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley, which is probably not Indo-European but possibly Dravidian (it may have had connections in culture

with Sumeria-Babylonia-Egypt), and not counting the hints of immigration of Indo-European peoples from Central Asia in the earlier of the two national epics (Mahabharata) and in the Rig-Veda hymns, all the rest of tradition and history and culture involves people who speak Dravidian languages as much as those who speak Indo-European. The 'hints' may be read into the epics and hymns by Western scholars; the Hindu tradition is that Sanskrit is the language of the gods and autochthonous.

The language situation in India can be oversimplified by saying that it is concerned with communication problems arising from national multilingualism, irrespective of whether the languages belong to the Dravidian family (including the four literary languages) or the Indo-European family (including English), or one of the other language families in India, as Munda.

In Language and Politics in India, Paul Friedrich does not often bother to distinguish Dravidian from Indo-European (Daedalus, 91.543-59, 1962):

"Most Indians still live mainly in villages, cross-cut by hundreds of sub-castes in patterns of sociolinguistic segmentation that have no close parallel elsewhere. Of these villagers, it is the women, linguistically the most conservative, who are responsible for the primary language influences on the children. Even the upper-caste child is often cared for by monolingual, lower-caste ayas. The leading novelist in Malayalam has grown wealthy by his writings and traveled widely in Europe and the Orient; but his wife does not speak English, and has only once gone farther than a mile from her husband's home and her nearby matrilineal household." (p. 544)

"Mexico's forty-odd Indian languages, spoken mainly by tiny minorities, do not threaten the national status of Spanish. India, on the contrary, recognizes fourteen languages for official purposes; all but three of them (Sanscrit, Assamese, and Kashmiri) are spoken by over ten million persons, and five are spoken by over 25 million (Telegu, Tamil, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi)." (p. 545).

"The Census of India cites 24 tribal languages spoken by 100,000 or more, and 720 minor languages and dialects with less than 100,000; of the 63 non-Indian languages, English has the most mother-tongue speakers, with 171,742. At least six nonofficial languages are spoken by over one million, and two of these, Marwari and Sindhi, by only a few hundred thousand less than Assamese. The other big minority groups are, in millions: Santali, 2.8; Gondi, 1.2; Bhili, 1.2; Mewari, 2; Jaipuri, 1.5."

"Sanscrit is sacred to most Hindus. Since the Vedic hymns (c.1500 B.C.) it has served in various related forms as a vehicle for metaphysics, the national epics, the laws of Manu, or the immortal poetry of Kalidasa. All literate Indians are more or less familiar with this spiritual lore and most revere it; orthodox Hindus know some by heart and may devote their declining years to reading and reciting aloud from the Bhagavad Gita and other repositories of wisdom. The grammarian who formulated the rules of Sanscrit over two thousand years ago today enjoys the status of a saint in the Hindu system. To a limited extent, written Sanscrit unites the educated Indians, especially the literati; hundreds of words and phrases are compre-

hended from the Indian Ocean to the Himalayas, and a much smaller scatter of items are understood even by those who cannot read." (p. 547)

"The Christians and the Muslims, who constitute about 15 per cent of the Indian population and up to half the population in the deep south, are sharply divided into innumerable subgroups. But they generally join to oppose Sanscrit. Even the Hindus are pitched against one another on the Sanscrit question; numerous copies of the Sacred Ramayana epic have been publicly burnt by lower-caste organizations because of a racist interpretation of the dark-skinned monkeys in the text. Many Tamil intellectuals will not even consider studying Sanscrit because of its 'Aryan' connotations." (p. 547)

"Many Tamilian dialects lack the voiced, aspirate sounds, retroflex sibilants, and some other generally pan-Indian features. Tamilians, strongly opposed to the 'imposition' of Hindi, may feel comparatively apprehensive about using Hindi in New Delhi precisely because of the absence or insignificant function of these subtle features in their own mother-tongue. And South Indian military history provides a striking analogy to the Biblical shibboleth, because many Tamilians found it impossible to pronounce in a satisfactory manner the retroflex, liquid nonocclusive phoneme in the speech of their medieval foe, the Malayali." (p. 548)

Before citing Friedrich further, it is worth noting that the Dravidian languages may well have been the donor to the retroflex versus non-retroflex distinction always found in the Indo-European languages native to India, and never in Indo-European languages beyond South Asia (as Emeneau, among

others, pointed out in his language paper on area linguistics). Dravidian languages, of course, all distinguish retroflex from non-retroflex, generally contrasting pairs of post-dental stops, often nasals and liquids, and sometimes trills. And it is such contrasts (Indo-European spoken in the mouth of a Dravidian, perhaps) that were not only carried over from Dravidian into Indo-European languages, but were in addition carried beyond stops, nasals, liquids, and trills to sibilants, since Indo-European languages already distinguished palatal versus non-palatal sibilants (as in English /š s/). But the inventories of some Dravidian languages, including at least one dialect of Tamil (see below), show only one sibilant; hence the basis of contrast (retroflex sibilant versus non-retroflex sibilant) is consistently lacking, although present in other kinds of consonants mentioned. Other Dravidian languages distinguish as many as three (Tamil) or four (Toda) sibilants (among them retroflex sibilants). Tamil speakers distinguish three sibilants only in careful pronunciation of Sanskrit borrowings. After this aside, we return to Friedrich (Language and Politics in India):

"According to an almost universal consensus, the foremost literary language of contemporary India is Bengali, above all because it was the vehicle and in part the creation of Rabindranath Tagore. The Tamilians, on the other hand, possess one of the longest unbroken literary traditions of any of the world's living languages." (p. 551)

"Various fissures in India's culture may be growing rather than decreasing. One aspect of her linguistic pluralism has thrown into relief certain

connections between language and politics. During British rule the political provinces almost never coincided completely with language boundaries. Thus Madras State included not only Tamilians but many people speaking Telegu, Malayalam, and Kannada, not to mention minority languages. The Bombay Presidency included speakers of at least four major languages. The principal result of this lack of congruence was that persons of differing speech communities were forced to interact and therefore to apply the principles of intergroup tolerance that underlie so much of Indian life. Second, English tended to emerge almost automatically as the lingua franca, in politics especially. English enjoyed a comparatively neutral status, since it was for the most part the prerogative of a supraregional elite, members of which are often scattered over many states in a network of subcastes, reaping the benefits as political mediators and leaders. They usually control some combination of Dravidian languages, or Indic languages, and English; one fairly representative Mysore Brahmin knows Kannada, Tamil, Telegu, English, and some Hindi (plus Kodagu, his childhood language). Many such polyglot intellectuals and administrators have opposed the organization of 'lingusitic states,' believing that the public support was basically the reflex of a provincial chauvinism that would rapidly accelerate the introversion of India's culture areas. But against this fading intelligentsia stand the lower-caste leaders, rising rapidly in the democratic atmosphere, and more prone to incite the largely monolingual, voting masses by exploiting symbols of linguistic difference." (pp. 533-4)

If the Dravidian language family includes some minority languages, so also do some Indo-European languages spoken in India. And since the political conditions are changing, the former neglect of minority languages may develop into a future point of emphasis. In this context 'minority' refers to the relative number of speakers of a language.

If this sense of the term ('minority') is extended from single language to language family, it may be said that the only non-minority language families in India are Dravidian and Indo-European (and languages of the latter family— in India, Pakistan, Southwest Asia, as well as in Europe and in its outliers— are reported on in Languages of the World: Indo-European Fascicle One). We are here concerned with Dravidian languages. The numerically predominant Dravidian languages are Telugu (37 million), Tamil (33 million), Malayalam (20 million), Kannada (16 million) and Gondi (one and a half million). Tulu, Kurukh, Brahui, and Kui are spoken by hundreds of thousands, and the remaining languages in the tens of thousands or hundreds.

Out of the total of 110 million Dravidian speakers only about 10 million are bilingual. Two-thirds of the Dravidian bilinguals have another Dravidian language as their second language, while the remaining one-third have an Indo-European language as their second tongue. One or another kind of 'Hindi' is spoken as a second language by one and a half million Dravidian speakers. Kui, located in the northeastern states of Bihar and Orissa, has the largest proportion of bilinguals among the larger Dravidian languages. In central India about one-third of the speakers of Gondi are bilingual in one of

the Indo-European languages. In southern India, Kannada and Telugu, bordering the Indic languages, have together about two million bilinguals. Tamil and Malayalam have just over 100,000 bilinguals each.

The status of Dravidian as a language family has never been a matter of controversy. It was recognized as a distinct group as early as 1816 (F. W. Ellis in A. D. Campbell's A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language) and was investigated in 1856 by R. Caldwell using the then recently developed comparative method. Comparative work was continued in the 20th century to the present day by such scholars as Jules Bloch, L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M. B. Emeneau, T. Burrow, Bh. Krishnamurti and S. Bhattacharya. After the pioneer efforts of Caldwell (except, always, Konow's work for the Linguistic Survey of India), both descriptive and comparative work suffered. Only a few grammars appeared in the period from Caldwell into the second quarter of this century. These grammars were the work of civil servants and missionaries; only a few of them (e.g. Denys Bray's Brahui and W. Winfield's Kui) were of superior quality.

A new period was inaugurated in 1937 with Emeneau's article on Brahui (BSOS 8.4. 981-3) and with the publishing in Language (1939) of his paper on Badaga. The high quality of work in this period (both comparative and descriptive) is exemplary; and the quantity of work increased in the last decade with the publication of a number of grammars on hitherto unknown Central Dravidian languages (by T. Burrows, S. Bhattacharya, and M. B. Emeneau) and in articles on the Southern Dravidian languages (by M. B. Emeneau,

William Bright, Murray Fowler, M. Andronov, K. Zvelebil, Bh. Krishnamurti, and others). A milestone in comparative Dravidian studies was the appearance of a Dravidian Etymological Dictionary by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau.

Despite great strides in the internal classification of Dravidian, no external relationships can be determined, though some investigators, notably F. Otto Schrader, have compiled numerous—if 50 is numerous—vocabulary items comparable in Dravidian, Munda, and Uralic. The existence of some such items led Caldwell, in the last century, to postulate genetic relationship for Dravidian and Uralic, while Schrader explains these in terms of 'prehistoric diffusion.'

The following nine Dravidian groups would be labelled 'zones' if the languages in each were spoken in Africa rather than India:

Tamil-Malayalam (5 languages)

Kannada (1 language)

Languages or dialects of unknown affiliation (5)

Tulu

Andhra group (2 languages)

Kolami-Parji group (4 languages)

Gondi-Konda group (4 languages)

Kui-Kuwi group (4 languages)

Kurukh-Malto group (2 languages)

Brahui.

Certain larger groupings are also possible: the Tamil and Kannada groups are usually combined in a Southern Branch of Dravidian in which may be included Telugu (of the Andhra group); the position of Telugu relative to the Southern or Central Branch is indeterminate. The Kolami-Parji, Gondi-Konda, and Kui-Kuwi groups are generally considered as members of a Central Branch of Dravidian. The status of Kui-Kuwi, however, is not certain. Emeneau has presented evidence (The Dravidian Verbs 'Come' and 'Give,' Lg 21. 184-213, 1945) suggesting the independent branch status of Kui-Kuwi; Burrow does not concur. Telugu and Tulu may be early offshoots of the Central rather than the Southern branch, with Telugu forming a close connection with both the Central and Northern branches (Krishnamurti, 1961). The Northern Branch of Dravidian has been the subject of investigation by M. B. Emeneau, who has established it definitely as a branch, despite the seemingly divergent character of Brahui (located in Baluchistan, West Pakistan). There is probably a closer relationship between Central and Northern Dravidian than between either of these two and Southern Dravidian.

THE SOUTHERN BRANCH OF DRAVIDIAN

The six languages of the Tamil and Kannada language groups can be certainly assigned to the Southern Branch of Dravidian. The total number of speakers of this branch is 70 million, most of whom dwell in the states of Madras, Kerala and Mysore in south and southwestern India. The three numerically largest languages are Tamil (33 million), Malayalam (20 million) and Kannada (16 million).

TAMIL-MALAYALAM GROUP

The five languages of this group number about 54 million speakers—nearly as many as speakers of Arabic, or all the Bantu languages combined. Languages of the Tamil-Malayalam group are located on the extreme tip of the Indian peninsula, on the plains of the east and west coast, and in the Nilgiri hills between. The numerically largest languages, Tamil and Malayalam, account for all but 75,000 of the total population of this group. These languages have relatively close affinities with the Kannada, which belongs in another group (see below).

Within the Tamil-Malayalam group it is clear that Malayalam diverged from Tamil less than a millenium ago. The two are so very closely related that some authorities, as Emeneau, regard them to be dialects of one language (see above); but they are more generally regarded as two separate languages, and are listed separately below.

(1) Tamil is spoken by over 33 million people, primarily in southeastern India in an area which closely corresponds to Madras State and a few contiguous districts of Kerala, Andhra, and Mysore States. Besides the 30 million speakers living in India, an additional two million live in Ceylon; one million in Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam; and about 250,000 in South Africa. There are still other Tamil speakers in British Guiana, Fiji, Madagascar, Trinidad, Martinique, Reunion and Mauritius, and Burma.

Tamil, like most Indian languages, has both caste and regional dialects. Both types of dialects are weakly differentiated in Tamil. The upper caste

dialect is less like the middle and lower caste dialects than they are like each other. The regional dialects as listed by Andronov (1963) are:

Northern, in the districts of Chingleput and North and South Arcot in Madras State;

Southern, in the districts of Madura, Tirunelveli, and Ramnadpuram in Madras State;

Northwestern, in districts of Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli in Madras State;

Western, in the districts of Nilgiri, Coimbatore, and Salem in Madras State;

Ceylon, on the northern coastal regions of Ceylon with local subdialects (e.g. Jaffna, Colombo).

Tamil has a rich and ancient literature known from the third century A. D.; Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil are the four literary Dravidian languages. The Tamil script differs from other Indian scripts in shape. Because of its isolation from Indic contact, Tamil has fewer Sanskrit loan words than any other Dravidian language. About 100,000 Tamil speakers are bilinguals, with an Indic language learned secondly.

(2) Malayalam (Malabar, Malayarma) is spoken by some 20 million people living in the state of Kerala, the Laccadive Islands, and the districts of Nilgiri in Madras State, and Coorg in Mysore State. Malayalam differs from Tamil in three main respects: it retains many archaic features; it has lost the personal suffixes of the verb; it has many more Sanskrit loans than has Tamil. Malayalam and Tamil are separated along most of their north-

to-south border by a sparsely settled mountainous jungle. Toward the south, however, the mountains merge into a plain where speakers of the two languages meet more commonly. Emeneau (1962, MSS) notes that there 'is a fan of isoglosses like many of the boundaries within the Romance or the Germanic area.' Little information appears in the literature of Malayalam dialects. V. I. Subramoniam (MSS, Univeristy of Kerala) reports on:
Pulaya, a dialect of Trivandrum, the southernmost district of Kerala.

Grierson listed:
Yerava dialect, spoken in the Coorg District of Mysore, by about 13,000 people.

Malayalam has a literature dating from about the 13th or 14th century. Malayalam speakers of the Laccadive Islands use an Arabic script, but those on the mainland use an Indian script.

(3) Toda is spoken by about 950 people in the Nilgiri hills at the junction of the Mysore, Kerala, and Madras States in the vicinity of Ootacamund. In an area 60 miles long and 40 broad, Toda, Kota (below), and Badaga (a Kannada dialect)--really three castes--live in a culturally symbiotic relationship with each other, but speak mutually unintelligible languages. Until modern times these languages developed in virtual isolation from outside influence. The closest linguistic affinity of Toda is with Tamil and Malayalam.

(4) Kota is spoken by about 4,500 people in the Nilgiri Hills in the mountains of Kotagiri, in the same general area as the Toda and Badaga. Although Toda has demonstrably close relationships to Tamil and Malayalam, the

Tamil-Malayalam subrelationship of Kota is less clear. There is no doubt that Kota must be grouped in the Tamil language group rather than the Kannada group, and beyond that Emeneau finds there is 'very near complete proof—on various grounds—that Kota must be closely grouped with Toda.' The nature of the Kota subrelationship has been obscured, however, by mutual borrowing between Toda, Kota, and Badaga.

(5) Kodagu (Coorg) is spoken by nearly 70,000 in the Coorg District of Mysore, around Mercara, bordering on Malayalam to the south. In spite of a few isoglosses that connect Kodagu with Kannada, as against the other South Dravidian languages, Kodagu does not belong in a group with Kannada but rather in the group with Tamil, Malayalam, Toda and Kota, according to Emeneau.

KANNADA GROUP

The one language of this group numbers about 16 million speakers living for the most part in the area of Mysore State, but including also speakers in the Nilgiri Hills of Madras State. Like the Tamil group, the Kannada group belongs to the Southern Branch of Dravidian. Kannada, written in a script similar to Telugu, has a literature dating from the 10th century A. D.

(6) Kannada (Kanarese) is concentrated in the State of Mysore, but found also in the districts of South and North Santara in Maharashtra State, in the district of Anantapur in Andhra Pradesh, and in the districts of Coimbatore and Nilgiri in Madras State. There are several social and regional dialects. In addition, Emeneau considers Badaga as 'certainly an offshoot of

Kannada' (Lg 15, 1939). There are about 67,000 speakers of the Badaga dialect.

TULU GROUP

(7) Tulu (Tuluva) is spoken by about 800,000 people in the South Kanara District of Mysore State, on the west coast of India. Emeneau (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1964) cites Tulu as 'an independent language of the family...close affiliations with any one of the other languages is not yet clear.' It has a large borrowed vocabulary from Kannada. Krishnamurti (1961) mentions Tulu as possibly being an early, independent offshoot of the Central Branch of Dravidian, but Andronov (1963) regards Tulu as being an offshoot of the Southern Branch of Dravidian. Emeneau, however, says that it is certainly not Southern.

Tulu has an alphabet, based on that used for writing Kannada, but no developed literature.

The following 5 languages, (8) through (12), have undetermined affinities with the Central and Southern Branches.

(8) Erukala (Yerukala, Korava), perhaps the same as the Yerava dialect of Malayalam

(9) Irula

(10) Kasava

(11) Kaikai

(12) Bugradi.

These languages and dialects are located in the forests between the

Nilgiri Hills and the Moyar River in the districts of Guntar and Nel (also a small number of migrants in Madras), and in Andhra. Andronov (Tamil'skij Jazyk, 1960) indicates that they have lexical resemblances to Ollari, Konda, Parji and other Dravidian languages of Central India. They were listed as dialects of Tamil by Grierson, a conclusion which Andronov emphatically dismisses. The above languages or dialects probably have little more than 50,000 speakers at the present time. Information on all five—(8) to (12), above—is dubious indeed; information on languages numbered (9) and (10), above—the only ones near the Nilgris—is old and bad. The remainder were recorded by the Linguistic Survey from the Bombay Presidency where they were wanderers.

ANDHRA GROUP

(13) Telugu (Gentoo, Andhra) is spoken by 37 million people in the State of Andhra Pradesh, and in the districts of Chanda and Nanded in Maharashtra State, and in the adjacent districts of Mysore along the entire length of the Mysore-Andhra border. It is also spoken by some immigrants in the Coimbatore and Madura Districts of Madras. Recent dialect studies have been made but published for the most part in Telugu by Bh. Krishnamurti (Hyderabad, 1962). Grierson lists Telugu regional designations which are now considered valueless for dialect differences.

Telugu literature dates from the 12th to 14th centuries.

(14) Savara (Sora, Saora) is given by Bhattacharya as a Dravidian language spoken by the Savara Dor in south Koraput in the State of Orissa which

is 'allied to Telugu.' There is in the literature general reference to a Savara (Sora, Saora) language in the Munda family in the same area.

This group is not established in its relation to other Dravidian languages. Andronov (1963) assigns it, with Tulu, as an early independent offshoot of the Southern Branch of Dravidian, but Krishnamurti (1961) believes the evidence points to its being an early offshoot of the Central branch of Dravidian.

THE CENTRAL BRANCH OF DRAVIDIAN

The eleven languages generally included in this branch (excluding Telugu, but including the Kui-Kuwi language group) total just over two million speakers in the states of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in central and east-central India. Krishnamurti has presented evidence for the inclusion of Telugu in the Central Branch. As already mentioned, Emeneau has presented evidence for excluding Kui-Kuwi from the Central Branch; as an independent branch of Dravidian, Kui-Kuwi may possibly represent the earliest identifiable offshoot of Dravidian. The two groups of languages which unquestionably belong in the Central Branch are Kolami-Parji and Gondi-Konda.

KOLAMI-PARJI GROUP

The four languages of the Kolami-Parji group are spoken by some 76,000 speakers, in the Bombay State districts of Chanda, Yeotmal, and Amravati; in the Andhra Pradesh districts of Adilabad and Warangal; in the Madhya Pradesh districts of Wardha and Bastar; and in the Koraput District in Orissa.

Kolami is numerically the largest language (of the four languages in this group), with 45,000 speakers. In a note on Naiki appearing in the Indo-Iranian Journal, Bhattacharya gives two subgroups for the Kolami-Parji Group: Kolami-Naiki and Parji-Gadba. Parji and Gadba are very closely related, but not to the point of mutual intelligibility.

The name Naiki is used for a dialect of Kolami (also called Naikri) as well as for the Naiki language.

(15) Kolami is spoken in the Yeotmal District of Bombay, and the Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh, by 43,000. There is, in addition, a fairly substantial speech community in the Wardha District of Madhya Pradesh (2,500). A few hundred Kolami speakers live in the Chanda and Amravati Districts of Bombay. There is no specific information on Kolami dialects, other than Naikri but Emeneau (Kolami, a Dravidian Language, 1957), indicates that field work in the following areas would surely show dialect differentiation:

Wardha

Yeotmal

Adilabad.

The following is definitely identified as a dialect: Naikri (Naik Pods, Naiki), spoken in the Adilabad District near Kinwat in Andhra Pradesh. It has been listed sometimes as a separate language, but Emeneau notes that 'it seems possible on the basis of such evidence as is at hand that they(Kolami and Naikri) are easily mutually intelligible...'

(16) Naiki (Naik Gonds, Erkū) is spoken by a small community in the Chanda District of Maharashtra chiefly around the city of Mul.

There are two dialects:

Chandli Buzruk

Chanda.

(17) Parji (Dhurva, Dhruva, Porojas, Thakara, Tagara, Tugara) is spoken by nearly 25,000 people in a section of territory south of Jagdalpur in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh, further south through the Kanker Forest Reserve. There is also a group of Parji in the Kolab-Sabari Valley in Sukma Zamindari, between Sukma and the Jagdalpur border. The eastern border is roughly that between Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa State, with a few villages extending across the border. Burrow and Bhattacharya list as dialects:

Northwestern, represented by the village of Maoli Pada, eighteen miles south of Jagdalpur;

Southern, represented by the villages of Tongpal and Chindgarh south of the Kanker Forest Reserve;

Northeastern, observed in the village of Netanar, this is probably the dialect exemplified by the Linguistic Survey of India.

(18) Gadba (Ollari, Salur) is spoken by about 2,000 people in the Koraput District of Orissa, in two dialects:

Salur (earlier Poya), in the village of this name and surrounding area;

Ollari (Hollar Gadbas, Kondkor), in the villages of Lamtaput, Mundaga Kotri

and vicinity.

In a note on Gadba in the Indo-Iranian Journal (1963) Burrow and Bhattacharya indicate that they now are able to determine that there 'is an absence of any fundamental dialect variations...' correcting the previous assumption 'that there existed...a cleavage between the Salur dialect and Ollari.' An alternative explanation, of course, is that previous dialect variations have been levelled. However, Emeneau thinks this alternative explanation is not called for. Though the dialects are identical grammatically, one has been heavily overlaid in vocabulary by Telugu, and the other not. The Salur dialect of Gadba is geographically separated from the Ollari dialect of Gadba by Munda Gadba speakers.

GONDI-KONDA GROUP

The four languages of this group are spoken by more than a million and a half people in the states of Madhya Pradesh and in the adjacent areas of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Gondi is the only language in this group with numerous speakers. All the others account for only 100,000 speakers altogether.

(19) Gondi is spoken by a million and a half people, located primarily in Madhya Pradesh, the Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh, and the extension of Bombay State between these two states; also in the Ganjam, Koraput and Phulbani Districts of Orissa; and also in the Singbhum District of Bihar.

The Gond tribe of Central India is a large one numbering about three million, only half of whom have retained their native Dravidian language. The remaining Dravidian-speaking Gonds are scattered throughout the area in a

number of local dialects. A 'western' group of dialects might be distinguished from a Bastar and Chanda, or 'eastern,' group of dialects including Koi (Koya) and Maria (Bison-horn Maria).

Gondi is primarily located in three specific areas:

(1) in the plateau and Nerbudda (Narbada) Valley area of western Madhya Pradesh, in the northwest of the District of Mandla (105,000) and the adjoining hills in the south of Jabalpur, Narsinghpur, and Bhopal, in the entire District of Betul (125,000), in the north of the District of Chhindwara (150,000), in the southeast corner of Holshangabad and to a limited extent in the adjoining district of Nimar (together 22,000);

(2) on the west Marathi Plain in the extreme eastern niche of the State of Bombay scattered in the Districts of Wardha (22,000), Nagpur (45,000), Amravati (17,000), Yeotmal (51,000), in the Basim area of Akola as well as among the Kolams (2,000), and south, into Andhra Pradesh, in the Adilabad District (90,000);

(3) on the East Marathi and Chhattisgarh Plains in the east of the District of Chanda (87,000) into the primary area of concentration of Gondi speakers in Bastar (365,000), northward in Bhandara (133,000), Balaghut (60,000), Durg (22,500), and in the southwest of Raipur and a small section in Bilaspur (together less than 2,000). An additional 10,000 people speak Gondi in the Indore, Nimar and Dewas Districts north of the Narbada River. There are about 4,000 in the Singbhum District of Bihar; 22,000 in the Districts of Ganjam, Koraput and Phulbani in Orissa; and fewer than 1,000 in the Mizapur District of Uttar Pradesh.

On Gondi and its dialects, see now Burrow and Bhattacharya (Journal of the Asiatic Society [Bengal], Vol. 2, Nos. 2-4, pp. 73-251, 1960).

(20) Koya is spoken by 37,000 people in the southwest area of the Koraput District in Orissa. It is mentioned by Bhattacharya as being spoken also in other places, but it is not certain that the Koi, Koya or Dorkoi of Bastar, or the 67,000 'Koya' enumerated for Andhra Pradesh in the 1951 census, can be identified as speaking Bhattacharya's Koya language (see Gondi above, for Koya dialect).

(21) Dorli is spoken by about 10,000 people in the southern part of the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh. Like the Koya language it is little known and remains unstudied.

(22) Konda (Konda Dora) is spoken by about 8,000 people in the Koraput District of Orissa. There are three tribal sections of the Konda, however, and only one of these speaks 'Konda.' The other two are the 'Reddi area' Konda Dora (who speak Telugu), and the Konda Poroja (who speak the local form of Oriya). Konda has been in the past considered a link between the Gondi language group and Kui-Kuwi. Mention of two dialects has appeared in articles by Burrow and Bhattacharya:

Northern

Western.

KUI-KUWI GROUP OR BRANCH

The three or four languages of this group number more than a half million speakers, most of whom live in the State of Orissa, and in contiguous parts

of Andhra Pradesh. Evaluation of new Pengo evidence collected by Burrow and Bhattacharya in 1964 should clarify not only the status of Pengo in relation to Kui and Kuwi, but also the relation of this group to other Dravidian groups. Kui and Kuwi of this group have sometimes been considered as dialects, but work by Burrow and Bhattacharya, Indo-Iranian Journal 5. (1961) permits the conclusion that: "Kui and Kuwi are to be regarded as separate languages... they are of course closer to each other than to any other Dravidian language... but they are mutually unintelligible..."

(23) Kui (Kanda, Kondho, Kuinga, Khond, Khondi, Kodu, Kodulu) is spoken by over 350,000 people in the districts of Puri, Ganjam, Koraput Dhenkanal, Keonjhar Phulbani and Sundagah in Orissa. The 1951 census figure of 485,000 includes all those reported as Kui or Khond. In 1928 Winfield, Grammar of the Kui language, estimated 450,000 to be the total for Kui and Kuwi (with 300,000 speaking Kui). Kui has a great deal of local variation; the inland and mountain dialects are more conservative than those near the coast and larger urban centers. According to Grierson there are two Kui dialects:

Gumsai (Eastern), 'in Gumsuir and adjoining parts of Bengal'

Western, 'in Chinnakimedi.'

Work by Burrow and Bhattacharya (Some Notes on the Kui Dialect as Spoken by the Kuttiakands of Northeast Koraput, Indo-Iranian Journal 5. 118-135, 1961) has uncovered the following dialect:

Kuttiya, certainly a dialect of Kui.

(24) Kuwi (Kuvinga, Kond, Southwest Konds) is spoken by more than 175,000 people located in the Visakhapatnam District of Andhra Pradesh, and the areas of the cities of Jeypore and Koraput in Orissa.

(25) Pengo is spoken by about 1,000 people in the Koraput District of Orissa.

(26) Manḍa, discovered most recently, is spoken in a jungle community. During further fieldwork on Pengo in 1964, Burrow and Bhattacharya found another language or dialect closely related to Pengo, which will be called Manḍa.

THE NORTHERN BRANCH OF DRAVIDIAN

The three languages of this group are spoken by 845,000 people. Two of the languages in East India, Kurukh and Malto, account for 545,000 of this number. Malto is confined to the northeast part of Bihar State, but Kurukh is spread over the states of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. Brahui is a Dravidian outlier located in the Baluchistan Province of West Pakistan, 800 miles from the nearest Dravidian language. The remote location of Brahui has supported the assumption that Dravidian was widespread in South Asia before the Indo-European intrusion. Emeneau (Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar, UCPL 27, 1962) prefers this solution rather than the alternative one of immigration to Baluchistan from the Deccan in South India. He does, however, suggest that the area from which such a migration might have taken place would probably have been further north and perhaps east

than the Deccan--i.e. approximately where the Kurukh and Malto live at the present time.

North Dravidian was difinitively established as a branch by Emeneau in 1961 (North Dravidian Velar Stops), although the fact that the three languages shared one unique phonological development had been demonstrated earlier.

KURUKH-MALTO GROUP

(27) Kurukh (Oraon) is spoken by about 520,000 people located primarily in the northwestern part of the Chota Nagpur Plateau in Bihar State, in the districts of Ranchi (365,000), Palamau (55,000), Purulia (10,000), Singbhum (13,000), Hazaribagh (5,000), Santal Parganas (11,000), Gaya (1,000), Shahabad (1,000); in the Orissa districts of Sambalpur (5,000), Sundargarh (25,000), Dhenkanal (1,000), and Balasore (1,000); and in the districts of Jalpaiguri (12,000) and Darjeeling (16,000) in West Bengal.

(28) Malto (Male, Sauria) is spoken by nearly 25,000 people in the Rajmahal Hills of northeast Bihar. The Malto have a tribal tradition of migration from Kurukh territory.

BRAHUI

(29) In 1931, Brahui (Brahuidi, Birahui, Kur Galli) was spoken by about 300,000 people located in the Baluchistan (153,000) and Sind (72,000) Provinces of West Pakistan, and perhaps by as many as 75,000 more people in the eastern parts of Persia and Afghanistan (according to Bray, Brahui Language, 1906). Three principal dialects have been noted:

Kalat Standard (Middle Brahui) spoken in and around the city of Kalat in Baluchistan;

Sarawan ('Uplanders');

Jharawan ('Lowlanders').

Phonemic inventories for some of the Dravidian languages are given below, in the order of their listing above.

TAMIL-MALAYALAM GROUP

Inventories for a variety of dialects and styles of Tamil are taken from: William Bright and A. K. Ramanujan (mss, 1961), Murray Fowler, The Segmental Phonemes of Sanskritized Tamil (Lg 30.360-7, 1954) S. Agesthialingom Pillai, A Generative Grammar of Tamil (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1963), M. Shanmugam Pillai, Tamil--Literary and Colloquial (IUPAL 13.27-42, 1960), V. I. Subramoniam, A Descriptive Analysis of a Dialect of Tamil (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1957), and K. Zvelebil, Dialects of Tamil IV (Archiv Orientální 31.635-68, 1963). For consonants these inventories agree in showing:

p	t	ṭ	č	k
b	d	ḍ	ǰ	g
m	n	ṇ		
	l	ḷ		
	r (r̃ and/or R)			
v			y	

Bright and Ramanujan's /R/, shown above, represents the same phone as Fowler and both Pillai's /l̲/--a retroflex glide, much like midwestern American [r]. We follow the usage favored by Burrow and Emeneau in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary of distinguishing dental from alveolar, in these languages which make the distinction, by placing an underline under the alveolar member of the pair, even though the reverse usage is often followed in Dravidian linguistics.

An additional linear distinction in stops, /t̲ d̲/ is shown by Bright and Ramanujan (for English loans), and as /t̲/ but not /d̲/ by M. Shanmugam Pillai and Zvelebil (for Colloquial Standard). The same number of linear distinctions, but fewer matching stops with additive component of voicing are shown by Fowler (minus /ɻ/) and Zvelebil (minus /d ḍ/ for Erode, a northwestern dialect; minus /d ḍ g/ for Tuticorin, a southeast coast dialect, and Ramnad, the southeasternmost dialect). S. Agesthialingom Pillai phonemicizes the voiced series of stops as geminate clusters of voiceless stops.

Three additional linear distinctions for nasals, /ñ̃ ŋ/ and /n/ (dental as opposed to the alveolar of the inventory above) are shown by M. Shanmugam Pillai for the three additional nasals made in pronouncing the names of the letters of the alphabet (with the suggestion that /ñ̃/, which occurs in one other word, might alternatively be analyzed as /ni/); /ñ̃/ is also added to the inventory by S. Agesthialingom Pillai, while Zvelebil (for Colloquial Standard) adds contrasts between dental /n/, alveolar /n̲/, and velar /ŋ/. The number of linear distinctions shown for fricatives varies from five, / f s ʂ š h/, with an

additional /z/ as well as /f/ occurring only in English loans (Bright and Ramanujan); three, / f s š/ or /f s ṣ/ , with /f/ and /š/ only in loans (M. Shanmugam Pillai and Zvelebil, for Colloquial Standard); two, /s š/ (S. Agesthialingom Pillai), /x h/ (Fowler); one, /s/ (Subramoniam for Nanjinad dialect), /ṣ/ (Zvelebil for two southeastern dialects); to none (Zvelebil for a northwestern dialect).

The Tamil vowel inventories all agree in showing

i u

e o

a

plus an additive component of length. Bright and Mamanujan also report that a marginal contrast between rounded /u/ and unrounded /ɯ/ must be recognized for many colloquial dialects.

Bright and Ramanujan show an additional long vowel, yielding, for long vowels, the system

i• u•

e• o•

ae• a•

M. Shanmugam Pillai and Zvelebil (for Colloquial Standard) assign the additional vowel, /æ/, to the short rather than to the long vowel system, with the comment that /æ/ is found only in English loans. Bright and Ramanujan show two additional coexistent vowel systems for short nasalized vowels versus long nasalized vowel:

ẽ ũ

ã õ and ã.

M. Shanmugam Pillai explicitly phonemicizes the nasal vowels as clusters of vowel plus /n/; Zvelebil shows nasalization with all five vowels for the two southeastern and a northwestern dialect.

For Malayalam, V. I. Subramoniam, Phonemic Analysis of a Dialect of Malayalam (University of Kerala, mimeograph, 1961) shows the following inventory for the Pulaya dialect spoken in Trivandrum:

p	t		ṭ	č	k	i	u
b	d		ḍ	ǰ	g	e	o
		s		š		a	
m	n	n̲	ṇ	ñ	ŋ	plus length	
	l		ḷ	l̲			
	r	r̲					
v				y			

A third [r] phone, [x] and [g] are assigned to the phoneme /g/.

The phone [š] is assigned to the phoneme /s/.

The following inventory for Toda is from M. B. Emeneau, Toda, A Dravidian Language (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1957, pp. 15-66);

p	t	t̲	c	ṭ	č	k			
b	d	d̲	ʒ	ḍ	ǰ	g	i	ɨ	u
f	θ s	s̲	s	š	x	e	ö	a	o
	z	z̲	z	ž		plus length			

m n n̤

r r̲ r̤

l l̤

ɬ ɬ̤

w y

For Kota, M. B. Emeneau, Kota Texts (UCPL 2, 1944) gives the following inventory:

p t t̲ ṭ c̆ k i u

b d d̲ ḍ ʒ̆ g e o

s ṣ a

plus length

m n n̤ ŋ

r r̤

l l̤

v y

KANNAḌA-KOḌAGU GROUP

For the 'everyday speech of educated [Kannaḍa] city-dwellers in old Mysore State,' the following phonemic inventory is given in William Bright, An Outline of Colloquial Kannada (Indian Linguistics Monograph Series 1, 1958):

p t ṭ c̆ k i ɨ u i· u·

b d ḍ ʒ̆ g e ə o e· o·

f s ṣ s̆ h a ɔ· a· ɔ·

z

m n ṇ ŋ

l ḷ

r

w y

Both the voiceless and the voiced series of unaspirated stops are fully matched by aspirated counterparts, here treated as clusters of stop plus / h/ . Aspiration and / f/ , / æ/ , /ɔ̈/ , and / ṯ/ occur only or principally in loan words; /ə/ is phonemic only in some idiolects; / s̆/ occurs only in 'deliberate' speech, being replaced by / ṣ/ elsewhere.

For the Baḍaga dialect of Kannaḍa, M.B. Emeneau, The Vowels of the Badaga Language (Lg 15.43-7, 1939) gives the same consonant inventory as that for Colloquial Kannaḍa above, minus the / f/ of loanwords, the / ṣ/ , and possibly the / s̆/ , (i.e. [s̆] is said to be possibly an allophone of / s/), and minus both aspirated series of stops, even by cluster solution, since the distribution of / h/ is stated to be limited to initial position. The vowel inventory of Badaga shows a more remarkable difference from that of Colloquial Kannaḍa--the five short vowel phonemes of Kannaḍa which occur in other than loanwords, i, u, e, o, a, and multiplied not only by an additive component of length, but also by additive components of retroflexion and half-retroflexion, yielding altogether 30 possible vowel phonemes (short normal x 5, short retroflexed x 5, short half-retroflexed x 5, long normal x 5, long retroflexed x 5, long half-retroflexed x 5). In Hocket's survey of the phonologies of a great many languages of the world (Manual of

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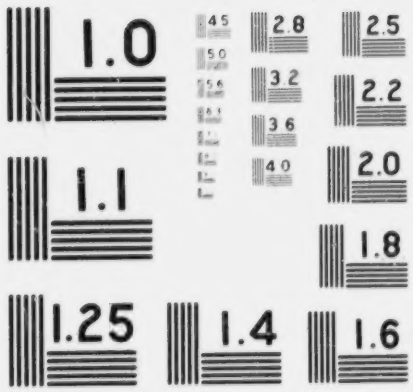

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963

Phonology, IJAL 21, No. 4, 1955) he remarks, "Badaga is the only language for which contrasts of retroflexion [in the vowel system] are attested as playing a major role."

For Kodagu, Burrow and Emeneau's Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, using material from Emeneau's fieldnotes, shows the following sounds:

p	t	ṭ	c̆	k		i	ï	u
b	d	ḍ	ẓ̆	g		e	ë	o
	s				h		a	
m	n	ṇ	ñ̃	ŋ		plus length		
	l	ḷ						
	r							
v			y					

TULU

The following sounds occur in Tulu words cited in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary largely on the basis of Männer's Tulu-English dictionary said to be 'unsatisfactory in that it presents material from several phonologically divergent dialects.'

p	t	ṭ	c̆	k		i	ï	u
b	d	ḍ	ẓ̆	g		e		o
	s				h	æ		a
m	n	ṇ	ñ̃	ŋ				
	l	ḷ				i•		u•
	r					e•		o•
v			y				a•	

2

ANDHRA GROUP

Andrée F. Sjoberg, Coexistent Phonemic Systems in Telugu (Word 18. 267-79, 1962) gives the following phonemic inventories for the speech of highly educated Brahmin speakers of the East Godavari dialect of Telugu.

For formal spoken style:

p	t	c	ṭ	č	k	i	u
p^h	t^h		$ṭ^h$	$č^h$	k^h	e	o
b	d	ẓ	ḍ	ǯ	g	ɛ	a
b^h	d^h		$ḍ^h$	$ǯ^h$	g^h	plus length, by vowel clusters	
ɸ	f	s	ṣ	š	h		
		z					
m	n		ṇ				
	l		ḷ				
	r						
v				y			

For informal spoken style:

p	t	c	ṭ	č	k
	t^h		$ṭ^h$		
b	d	ẓ	ḍ	ǯ	g
b^h	d^h		$ḍ^h$		
ɸ	f	s	ṣ	š	h
		z			
m	n		ṇ		

	l	ḷ		
	r			
v				y

The vowel phonemes of the informal style are the same as those of the formal style. The aspirated stops and the sibilants occur much less frequently in the informal than in the formal style. In native vocabulary--as opposed to loanwords--all of the vowel phonemes of both styles occur, but only the following consonants:

p	t	ṭ	č	k
b	d	ḍ	ž	g
	s			
m	n	ṇ		
	l	ḷ		
	r			
v				y

The phonemes of another dialect of Telugu are given in Bhadriraju Krishnamurti, Telugu Verbal Bases (UCPL 24, 1961) as:

p	t	ṭ	č	k	i	u
p^h		$ṭ^h$	$č^h$	k^h	e	o
b	d	ḍ	ž	g	a	
b^h	d^h	$ḍ^h$	$ž^h$	g^h	i•	u•
f	s	ṣ	š	h	e•	o•
m	n	ṇ			æ•	a•

	l	l̤				
	r					
w				y		

The aspirated stops are said not to occur in the colloquial variety of this dialect.

KOLAMI-PARJI GROUP

The phonemic inventory of Kolami, as given in M. B. Emeneau, Kolami, A Dravidian Language (UCPL 12, 1955) is:

p	t	ṭ	č	k	i	u
b	d	ḍ	ǰ	g	e	o
	s				a	
	z				plus length	
	l					
	r					
m	n			ŋ		
v			y			

Two additional consonant phonemes, /c l̤/, occur regularly in words borrowed from Marathi; in initial position in Marathi loanwords /h/ occurs only inconsistently--i.e. alternating with its absence. One additional short vowel phoneme and its long counterpart occur in Marathi loanwords-- /ə əˑ/. The distinction between long and short vowels is phonemic only in stressed position, i.e. in initial syllables.

The phonemic inventory of Parji as given in T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, The Parji Language, A Dravidian Language of Bastar (Hertford, 1953) is:

p	t	ṭ	č	k		
b	d	ḍ	ǰ	g	i	u
m	n		ñ	ŋ	e	o
	l				a	
	r	ṛ			plus length	
v			y			

Two additional consonant phonemes, / s h/, occur in words borrowed from Halbi.

For the Ollari dialect of Gadba, Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya, Ollari, A Dravidian Speech (Department of Anthropology, Government of India, Memoir 3, 1957) gives the following inventory, with the indication that the affricates (c, ʒ, c, ǯ) occur only rarely and their phonemic status is uncertain:

p	t	c	ṭ	č	k	i	u
b	d	ʒ	ḍ	ǯ	g	e	o
		s				a	
		z				plus length	
m	n		ṇ	ñ	ŋ		
	l						
	r		ṛ				
v				y			

Long vowels occur 'mostly' in monosyllabic words or in the first syllable of polysyllabic words.

GONDI-KONḌA GROUP

The following is the inventory of sounds occurring in Konḍa words cited in Burrow and Emeneau (1961):

p		t	ṭ	c	k	ʔ	i u
b		d	ḍ	ǰ	g		e o
		s					a
		z					plus length, and
m		n	ṇ		ŋ		ĩ ũ
		l					
		r	r̲	ṛ			
v				y			

NAHALI AND BURUSHASKI

18. As noted above (9), those classifiers who are concerned with remote relationships in phylum linguistics attempt to relate Nahali to the Munda family, but they do not even attempt to relate Burushaski to any other language or language family. The Linguistic Survey of India regards the Burushaski as a displaced people--displaced by speakers of Dardic languages. The interpretation of a former greater spread of Burushaski is based on the fact that words borrowed from Burushaski are heard today in languages as distant as Afghanistan (Kafiristan).

Nahali is spoken mainly around the village of Temi (Tembi)--twenty-five miles east of Burhanpur--in Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh. Estimates of

the number of Nahali speakers range from 750 to 1,200. These estimates are too high, according to Bhattacharya. Some 250 Nahali speakers are bilingual in Hindi (Malvi dialect).

From the cultural point of view, it is sometimes argued that the Nahals constitute a remnant of a pre-Dravidian and pre-Munda population of India. But from a linguistic point of view, this hypothesis has little to support it. Robert Shafer believes that Nahali, along with the Himalayan dialect, Kusunda, and with Burushaski, represent three different language families--remnant language families, as it were--besides the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European, the Dravidian, and the Munda families. H. J. Pinnow (Versuch Einer Historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache, Wiesbaden, 1959) postulates that Nahali is coordinate with Munda in his Western Branch of his Austro-Asiatic phylum.

On the problem of classifying Nahali, F. B. J. Kuiper (Nahali, a Comparative Study, Amsterdam, 1962) states that '...the real point at issue is not, whether there are many foreign words of unknown origin in Nahali, but whether their occurrence justifies our setting Nahali apart as an isolated language.' He suggests that the names of the body parts in Nahali, although they have no apparent correspondences in either Dravidian or Munda, may nevertheless have developed with secret language usage, a phenomenon commonly found among lower castes in India. Such usage makes considerable phonological changes in words, retains archaic words, substitutes different (but related) meanings for well known (foreign) words, innovates onomatopoetic

words and so on. The etymologies of many such items are either uncertain or unknown.

Kuiper, in his comparative study of Nahali, seems to favor the conclusion that Nahali be considered the sole representative of an isolated language family. In discussing the resemblance of Nahali to other languages, which he considers to be due to borrowing at various times and over a long period, he notes succinctly six important points:

(1) The first and second pronoun systems have been borrowed from Kurukh (Dravidian).

(2) The demonstratives are of Munda origin with a Dravidian plural suffix (-la) in one instance.

(3) The interrogative pronouns are largely unique.

(4) The verbal system in general resembles H. J. Pinnow's Proto-Munda.

(5) The noun case system is--contrary to (4) above--fully independent of Munda.

(6) A vocabulary list containing 503 items can be broken down as follows: 24 percent unique, 24 1/2 percent vaguely reminiscent of various languages or families, 40 percent related to Munda (36 percent of Kurku specifically--the Kurku being the neighbors of the Nahal geographically), 9 percent to Dravidian, and 2 1/2 percent to Sino-Tibetan.

The following Nahali phonemic inventory--which looks almost like a typical Munda system--is taken from Pinnow:

p	t	ṭ	t^y	k		i	u	$\tilde{e}$ $\tilde{o}$
b	d	ḍ	d^y	g		e	o	$\tilde{a}$
	s				h		a	
m	n			ŋ		plus length		
	l							
	r							
w		y						

All stops in the above chart combine with aspiration SGC, thereby yielding a system which contrasts four series of stops.

The Burushaski language constitutes an independent language family. It is spoken in Pakistan in the states of Hunza and Nagir and in the Jasin District to the west. There are two or possibly three dialects of Burushaski, the last being the most divergent:

Hunza dialect (20,000 speakers including Nagir)

Nagir dialect

Werchikwar (Jasin) dialect (7,500 speakers).

The total number of speakers is 27,500 (1931 census).

Burushaski is a self-designation of the speakers of the Hunza dialect. Alternate names for Burushaski are:

Yeshkun (used by the speakers of the Nagar dialect),

Biltum (used for the Jasin dialect), and

Khajuna and Kunjuti (used by speakers of neighboring languages).

The Following Abbreviations Will Be Used

AA	American Anthropologist
ACLS . . .	American Council of Learned Societies
AES-P . . .	American Ethnological Society, Publication
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
APS-P . . .	American Philosophical Society, Proceedings
APS-T . . .	American Philosophical Society, Transactions
BAE-B . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Report
CU	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
IUPAL . . .	Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF	Journal of American Folklore
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
Lg	Language
RCPAFL . .	Research Center Publications in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SIL	Studies in Linguistics
TCLP . . .	Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague
UMPL . . .	University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics
UCPAAE . .	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL . . .	University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA . . .	Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
WDWLS . .	William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series

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